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ABSTRACT

This research summary presents a status report on the process of the thorough restructuring of eastern Germany since unification. Education and science are in the center of this effort. Explanation of the roles of education in the lives of citizens in both the former socialist and democratic republics is given. Both the ideological and practical influences are discussed. The paper gives an overall picture of the transformation process and deals particularly with: (1) thorough reform efforts with respect to contents, structures, and concepts as demanded by the politically revelant participants (citizens movements, political parties, churches); (2) changes within the education system as put through by the last two German Democratic Republic (GDR) governments until October 3, 1990; (3) transitional regulations as provided by the Unity Treaty and its consequences for teachers, scholars, and students; (4) the reestablishing of the Lander of the former GDR and the emergence of their new education policies; and (5) the transformation of social studies from socialist "Staatsburgerkunde" to a democratic political education. An attempt is made to assess the current transformation process, focusing on secondary and higher education. Contains approximately 800 references in German. (EH)

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# UNIVERSITÄT DER BUNDESWEHR HAMBURG

1/93

## The Eastern German Education System in Transition

Klaus-D. Block/Hans-W. Fuchs

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# The Eastern German Education System in Transition

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## Introduction

Education and science are in the center of the process of thorough restructuring of eastern Germany. For the SED, the education system was the primary means of educating the socialist human and of building a new classless socialist society. The GDR was labeled an "education society"; formal public education was comprehensive, ubiquitious, and total. Starting in the earliest years of childhood, often reducing or replacing parental influence, education accompanied every East German for all of his youth and much of his adult life since it went beyond a basic general education and qualification for a job. It was an instrument of ideological adaptation and mobilization and guaranteed social recognition, reward, and success.

Without empirical data it is difficult to figure out inhowfar education was in fact influencing everybody's attitudes, thinking, and behaviour. We think that the effects should not be underestimated; it is not controversial that education and "ideological work" were of wide influence. This may explain why the transformation of the education system affected all its parts from kindergarten to higher and adult education, all its structures, subjects, and programs.

The paper gives an overall picture of the transformation process, and deals particularly with the following topics:

- Thorough reforms with respect to contents, structures, and concepts as demanded by the politically relevant participants (i.e. citizens movements, political parties, churches etc.);
- changes within the education system as put through by the last two GDR governments until October 3, 1990;
- transitional regulations as provided by the Unity Treaty and its consequences for teachers, scholars, and students;
- the reestablishing of the Länder of the former GDR and the emergence of their new education policies;
- the transformation of social studies from socialist *Staatsbürgerkunde* to a democratic political education.

Many reform aspects are meanwhile the object of often heavy criticism. We therefore tried to assess the current transformation process, focussing on secondary and higher educaton.

## Proposals to Reform the Education System

In context with the IXth Pedagogical Congress of 1989, the East German education system was heavily criticised, esp. by representatives of the churches. The criticism referred to the educational concept in general and to its elements, e.g., stressing sciences and neglecting cultural subjects, or focussing on ideological education, manifested in subjects like history, civics (*Staatsbürgerkunde*), or German language and literature. The criticism centred on the instrumentation of education for socialist goals.

In fall 1989, esp. after Margot Honecker had resigned as minister of education (*Volksbildungsminister*) on Nov. 2, a growing number of political activists, citizens movements,

new political parties, clergymen and individuals like teachers, scholars, students, parents, and others presented reform proposals to the public.

For those groups and individuals, the fundamental reorganization of the whole "standardized socialist education system" (*Einheitliches Sozialistisches Bildungssystem*) constituted an essential part of social and political reforms which should be part of the overall social renewal "put through by the people" and therefore consented by parents, teachers, and students.

Many of these reform propoals were based on ideas published by church-related groups already during the 1980s. In late fall 1989 the former "block parties" (*Blockparteien*) presented their own reform ideas to the public (Deutsche Lehrerzeitung (DLZ) no. 49/89, p. 3).

**Reform Proposals**

In its Problem Catalogue of Oct. 1st, New Forum fought for "independence in cultural and intellectual life", the release of an education system "free from discipline and boredom", and the "revision of the principles of selection and admittance in education, science, and cultural life" (mdv transparent 1990a, p. 40). Among its reform proposals, New Forum demanded: to de-militarize the whole education system, to differentiate between individual abilities, and interests of high school students, to separate schooling from the influences of political organizations, to introduce new methods, and to give more freedom to students and teachers (BA no. 8/1990, pp. 33-35).

The former national front parties Liberal Democratic Party (LDPD) and Democratic Farmers Party (DBD) wanted to free education from political and ideological influence and, to realize a "non-ideological" education. In March 1990, the Minister of Education, Hans-Heinz Emons, published "Theses on Education Reform" (BA no. 10/1990), drafted by scholars of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (*Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften - APW*). It was labelled as an "offer for public discussion", integrating the most important demands of the opposition groups,new political parties, and scholars for a thorough reform of the education system. The paper, admitting a serious crisis of the education system as a result of the "mostly unsuccessful education policy of the past decades" (BA no. 10/1990, p.4), offered reform ideas to all sectors. Summarizing, one can figure out the following basic demands for educational renewal, voiced between fall 1989 and spring 1990:

- in order to get equality of opportunity: only personal ability, interest, and performance should decide about schooling and educational programs;
- the parents` rights to determine how to bring up their children and to decide about their childrens` school career;
- to get parents` rights constitutionally established;
- to combine reform of education and society;
- to ban the SED and its youth organizations (Free German Youth (*Freie Deutsche Jugend - FDJ*) and the Young Pioneers (*Pionierorganisation "Ernst Thälmann"*) ) from schools;
- to stop the ubiquitious indoctrination and to replace curricula;
- to put through freedom and plurality on all levels of the education system, esp. in political education (BA no. 8/1990; BA no. 14/1990).

The same demands were taken up by the "Position Paper of the Central Round Table on Education and Youth". Containing common demands like the equality of educational opportunities, it also focussed on "thorough uncovering and elimination of the education system's Stalinist structures, contents, and methods" (ad hoc no. 5/1990, Sonderbeilage 1, p. 1).

**Preschool Education**

Preschool education, as an integrated part of the "unified socialist education system", was the object of criticism because of its ideological one-sidedness,and the domination of cognitive education programs (Fischer 1992, p. 109).
The Liberal Democratic Party demanded a comprehensive education reform from kindergarten to higher education and wanted the parents to choose among kindergartens with different pedagogical approaches. The Democratic Awakening *(Demokratischer Aufbruch)*, too, supported the idea of keeping work-place kindergartens and day-care nurseries, run as public or as private non-profit making institutions (*Freie Trägerschaft*).

**Elementary and Secondary Education**

As long as the reform forces were working for a democratic but independent GDR, reform proposals aimed at changes and improvements of the "socialist education system". The criticism of general education centred on "undifferentiated uniformity" with regard to contents, methodological and didactical instruction. This criticism included the extensive control teachers and educators were submitted to by school administration and socialist party.
But most of the political activists wanted to keep the structural uniformity up to grade 10 go trading. But DBD and LDPD demanded "internal differentiation" i.e. setting in some subjects (BA no. 8/1990, p. 7; p. 54).
The Green party came out in favor of comprehensive school *(Integrierte Gesamtschule)* as a compulsory school for all students refusing the three-track school system of *Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, and *Gymnasium*, as established in the West German Länder. The same was demanded by PDS (the former SED) and Social Democrats. Referring to the conclusion that the POS (*Polytechnische Oberschule*) as a unified school had failed, the SPD supported the idea of an independent four-year elementary school, and differentiated comprehensive full-day school (grades 5-10). Similiar to the SPD, the Central Round Table paper "On Education and Youth" demanded to keep the ten- year compulsory school attendance, but otherwise proposed pluralistic structures with different types of public and private schools.

The request for private non-profit institutions can be found in many proposals, e.g., by the Greens, LDPD, CDU, Democratic Awakening or in the aforementioned APW-"Theses on Education Reform". The SPD particularly supported free Waldorf schools.

Different papers of APW scholars, published between Dec. 1989 and July 1990, discussed models of ability-based setting, but stuck to the ten-year unified compulsory school. The proposals on structural reforms were mostly combined with those on "internal" reforms (DLZ no. 51/89).
Demands on participation in school decision making and parent-, teacher-, and student representation as well as a renewal of inner-school rules were part of most papers. The SPD also wanted initiation *(Jugendweihe)* to be separated from school.
Already in March 1990 and contrary to most organizations, the CDU proposed the western German three-track school system, based on six-year elementary school (Fischer 1992, p. 107).

All groups agreed on curriculum reforms as indispensible. Inadequate school curricula, teaching methods, and lack of alternatives, and, in general, the uniformity of schooling were regarded as the main reason for mediocre results and the inflation of excellent grades (Hörner 1990, p. 15).
Basic demands regarding to internal reforms were:

- replacing the educational goal of the "socialist personality" by those related to autonomy and selfresponsibility, pluralism, liberal democracy, and "state under the rule of law";
- banning pre-military education from kindergarten to college;
- replacing the highly detailed curricula by "framework" curricula;
- development of new curricula, not only in politically sensitive disciplines like civics and history, but also in subjects like geography or German literature;
- revision of the foreign language programs; instead of the priority of Russian, students should be able to choose among English, French, and Russian;
- offering of new subjects like environmental or computer studies;
- additional course-hours for music and the arts.

The future of "polytechnical education" was discussed controversially. Contrary to its basic concept, polytechnical education was in fact monotonous and pedagogically unproductive work; in fact students often had to do unskilled work in order to replace labor. Thus, the range of demands was from dropping to thoroughly reforming.
Inadequate grading not related to individual student performance was a big problem of schooling in GDR. Teacher assessment was partly based on how they graded their students and on the average grading of their courses. Combined with political control and administrative pressure from above, this practice led to the widely criticised "grade inflation".
The monopoly of the party and state youth organizations was a matter of criticism as well. By founding their own youth organizations in fall 1989, some former "block-" or "national-front parties" and opposition groups underlined their demand for pluralism (mdv transparent 1990b, p. 59), while PDS, in its manifesto for the *Volkskammer* elections of March 1990, still pleaded for a unified youth organization. Alliance 90 and Christian Democratic Youth, an organization close to the CDU, demanded to separate all youth organizations from schools and enterprises.

Another ubiquitious demand was to extend senior high school education (*Abiturbildung*). The present EOS (*Erweiterte Oberschule*) was considered selective and too short with only two years of education (grades 11-12). This was admitted already by the *Volksbildungsministerium* which in its

"Standpoints and Questions on Renewal of School" (mdv transparent 1990b, p.83) pointed out some problems of senior high school education. The efficiency of senior high school education was to be thoroughly improved, it should not simply continue the ten-year polytechnic education program. Many of the reform groups preferred to reestablish the former four-year EOS (grades 9-12) and the SPD even raised the question whether a 13th school-year should be established to prepare students for university comparable to West Germany.

Some of the reform programs discussed special programs or schools for the gifted as well as the disabled. In general, the idea of integrating only slightly disabled students into regular schools was supported. To foster gifted children, the GDR "special schools" and "special classes" should be maintained or be transformed into *Gymnasien* with specialized profiles in maths, science, the arts, etc. (Hörner 1990, p. 38).

**Vocational Education**

Already during the "*Wende*", the Secretary of Vocational Education presented some proposals to improve vocational education and which included the dropping of *Staatsbürgerkunde* from vocational school programs, to reestablish adequate grading, and to dismiss unmotivated apprentices (Hörner 1990, p. 22). The NDPD demanded to stop controlling the demand of skilled workers and asked whether each adolescent could be committed to do vocational education. The LDPD stood for free choice of occupation as a constitutional right; vocational education should be carried through in a common responsibility of both, state and economy. To prepare people for the "social market" economy, DSU demanded further education and in-service training. APW and Social Democrats wanted to maintain the combination of vocational education and university entrance qualification (*Berufsausbildung mit Abitur*) (BA no. 14/1990, p. 24, p. 55, p. 64).

The technical and professional colleges did not play a role in the education reform discussion. LDPD wanted the technical colleges to take over additional tasks, e.g., in further education and retraining or education of elementary school teachers which others wanted to be transferred to university. The APW proposed to keep technical college education when focussing more on individual achievement, differentiated curricula should be developed, and technical college graduates should be allowed to continue studying at the universities (BA no. 14/1990, p.65 f.)

**Higher Education**

The most important demands on higher education, were to reestablish the traditional autonomy of universities and colleges and the freedoms of teaching, learning, and research. Students should again work on their own and choose their own courses. The academic freedoms should include free access to university or college and programs of their own choice, only depending on individual interest and performance.

As one of the most urgent demands of all opposition groups, the compulsory courses in Marxism-Leninism were dropped already in Nov. 1989 by the ministry of education. DSU and CDU focussed on "de-ideologization" of all programs and disciplines, demanding a thorough renewal of humanities and social sciences. Colleges and universities should regain their autonomy, and political parties and party youth organizations should get out of all institutions of higher education. Further demands were:

- to establish new kinds of student interest representation bodies;
- to allow universities to select their own students;
- getting rid of each kind of state or party dirigism in learning, teaching, research, and administration;
- programs on science sponsoring;
- free publishing of research resutlts;
- founding new colleges and universities with respect to regional needs (over 40 % of the GDR students were studying in Saxony);
- no dismissals of professors and university staff before a higher education act was adopted; (BA no. 8/1990; BA no. 14/1990).

**Teacher Education**

"The teacher`s profession should get out of its previous role fulfilling command pedagogy, and teachers should act independently in the process of education" (BA no. 8/1990, p. 47), Social Democrats demanded in their paper "On Reform and Extension of the Education System" (BA no. 8/1990, p. 47 ff.). The most important aspects were to free teachers from heteronomy and spoon-feeding by SED and union. The CDU stated that "only pedagogical, professional, ethical, and scholarly criteria should be taken into account, when educating, appointing, and assessing pedagogues, but not party membership" (BA no. 14/1990, p. 15). Similiar demands were voiced by PDS, Alliance 90, and teachers union, which, in addition, wanted more job security and extended union rights for teachers. Other groups and political parties proposed structural reforms such as to transfer elementary and vocational teacher education to university level.

**Adult and Further Education**

In the GDR, adult education played an important role. Education in adult education centers (*Volkshochschulen*) in general was on a relatively high level, but most courses were to get general or vocational education certificates. New approaches had to be found in some parts of the adult education system to support the process of democratization. Thus, courses for adults, dealing with political, economic, and cultural issues, had to be offered (Hörner 1990, p. 36; Reuter 1991, pp. 22-23). On the other hand, there was the need of a large scale of new or additional vocational education and retraining programs to prepare people for the western German market system. Finally, language

education in the so-called "EC-languages" proved to be necessary. But in general, only a few reform proposals dealt particularly with adult education.

## Changes within the GDR Education System in 1989/90

On Nov. 2, 1989, Margot Honecker was dismissed. Having been *Volksbildungsminister* since 1963, she was responsible for general education and the "ideological education" of the youth; she was succeeded by her deputy, Günter Fuchs. On Nov. 3, the Minister of Higher Education and College Affairs (*Minister für Hoch- und Fachschulwesen*), H.-J. Böhme, came out in favor of "a real reform" of higher education, and on Nov. 10, the Central Committee of the SED published a program "On Reform of the Education System". Its demands were, among others, to drop the university entrance qualification concept, and to go back on former concepts by starting the EOS earlier (Fischer 1992, p. 103). On the same day, several thousand employees of the institutes of the Academy of Sciences (*Akademie der Wissenschaften*) rallied in East-Berlin protesting against all state and party dirigism in research matters. On the same day, the APW-president Werner Scheeler, was forced to resign.

On Nov. 13, Hans Modrow was elected prime-minister by the *Volkskammer* and asked to form a new government. This opened up new possibilities to get into contact with the opposition and reform groups on an official level. So, just two days after Modrow`s election, initiated by the Secretary of Church Affairs, Kurt Löffler, first talks on education reform issues started between representatives of the *Volksbildungsministerium* and APW on the one hand and representatives of the protestant church on the other.

On Nov. 18, the new government and Hans Modrow as its head were confirmed by the *Volkskammer*. Klaus-Peter Budig (LDPD) became Minister of Science and Technology, Hans-Heinz Emons (SED, later PDS) became Minister of Education.

By deleting the SED`s role as the leading political power in state and society from constitution of the GDR on Dec. 1st, (GBl. 1989, I, p. 265) the *Volkskammer* opened the way to thorough reforms in state and society, including the education system. The talks between government and opposition groups were continued at the Central Round Table, a representative body drawn up from old and new political parties, churches, and oppositional groups. It met, invited and headed by the Protestant and Catholic Churches, 16 times between Dec. 1989 and March 1990. Its main aims were to control, later on to initiate, governmental decisions and to work out a new GDR constitution (Thaysen 1990).

But the West German education and science organizations, also had an eye on things going on in East Germany. Already in Nov. 1989, the BLK (*Bund-Länder-Konferenz für Bildungsforschung und Forschungsförderung* or Federation-Laender Commission on Educational Planning and Promotion of Research) discussed the consequences of what was happening in GDR for education, and worked out a program to support the East German science and research institutions (BLK 5/89 of Dec. 12, 1989).

On Jan. 12, 1990, the Federal Minister of Education, Jürgen Möllemann, met the East German counterpart, Hans-Heinz Emons, in East Berlin. They decided to establish an All-German Education Committee to coordinate their cooperation efforts. Avoiding a "brain-drain" from east to west, was a matter of priority to both of them.

On March 5, the Central Round Table presented its proposals "On Education and Youth" to the *Volkskammer*, which was too late to influence reform measures (ad hoc no. 5/90, Sonderbeilage 1). The Volkskammer elections of March 18, were won by the CDU-led Alliance for Germany parties, and the new government under Lothar de Maizière wanted reunification as soon as possible. Therefore, no more thorough indigenuous GDR reforms, but only transitional regulations were needed.

The results of the *Volkskammer* elections again caused changes in the education administration. Hans-Joachim Meyer (independent), a former Professor of English at Humboldt-University, became Minister of Education and Science. The three former separate education ministries (*Volksbildung, Hoch- und Fachschulwesen, Berufsbildung*) had already been combined by Emons. Now, the remaining two Ministries of Education and of Science merged, while the departments of research and technology became independent.

In his inaugural speech, de Maizière declared: "In education also, we inherited a disastrous past from the SED" (Texte zur Deutschland-Politik, Vol. 8 a - 1990, p. 187). He proposed to eliminate the state system of bureaucratic and centralistic guidance and to replace uniformity by a flexible and differentiated education system. He pronounced the parents` rights to bring up their children on their own and promised to keep preschool education going, and to introduce a new "framework" law in higher education which should reestablish the autonomy of higher education. Finally, the Laender should be independent in education and culture policy by creating the conditions to federalize culture and cultural policy.

In May, 1990, the All-German Education Committee was established. Its task was to guarantee permanent information and support, and to serve mutual coordination and cooperation on the way to linking the two German education systems.

To integrate the education systems was a particular aim of the Committee. Furthermore, with a transfer payment of 30 million DM, the West German minister supported an initiative of West German text book publishers to replace GDR-schoolbooks, esp. in politically sensitive subjects, and in foreign language education (English, French, Latin, Greek).

At the second All-German Education Committee meeting on June 1, 1990, eight representatives from each country (the FRG-group consisting of representatives from both, Federation and Laender) discussed how to cooperate until unification was achieved. Four sub-committees dealt with more detailed issues on general education, vocational training in companies and part-time schools, higher education, science, and further education. Another 50 million DM bulk rate was earmarked to support two main programs, for modernizing vocational training, and improving cooperation and exchange in higher education. Besides federal and state representatives, experts of business associations, churches, trade unions and employers federations were involved in the talks.

On the Committee's last meeting of Sept. 26, 1990, the members took stock of their present work and transferred current programs to other educational organizations (e.g. *Kultusministerkonferenz, Wissenschaftsrat*), and gave recommendations for the revision of general education in order to guarantee standardization and equality of opportunity.
After the establishment of the new Länder, education became--like in the western Laender--one of the major areas of state legislation and administration.

**Preschool Education**

Early childhood education as a part of the "unified socialist education system" was subject to the general political changes since 1989. Already in late fall 1989, the compulsory "Program on Education in Kindergarten" (1985) was abolished, and politics strictly separated from pedagogical work. Its politicization, visible in goals and contents like "protection of peace", "defence of the socialist fatherland", "antifascism", or "internationalism" were heavily criticized (Fischer 1992, p. 108 f.). Since November 1989, military toys were no longer used in kindergartens. A "Central Task Force Kindergarten" was established in January 1990 on suggestion of the Minister of Education to support the renewal of the kindergarten.

In 1990, the survival of day-care nurseries and kindergarters, particularly of those run by combinates and companies, got the highest priority. Many companies wanted to give up the kindergartens because of their serious economic problems which caused considerable concern because of the high amount of employeed women (about 90 %). In his inaugural speech Minister-President de Maizière declared keeping these institutions of prime importance (Texte zur Deutschlandpolitik, Vol. 8 a, p. 187).
Because of the negative economic development in spring 1990 the ministry published a statute "On Maintenance of Services by Internal Company Kindergartens, Polytechnic and Vocational Institutions" (GBl. 1990, I, p. 17). § 2 obliged the companies to maintain the day care services. If companies went out of business, it was up to counties, villages, and towns to take over these institutions. Inspite of their provisions, some institutions were closed because of the lack of money. But to support the companies, federal funds for maintaining kindergartens and nurseries were made available. Consequently, the serious reduction of day care services en masse, as feared by many people, did not actually happen. The number of company institutions decreased from 1,477 (Nov. 1989) to 1,411 by Dec. 1990 only, while the total figure in the same period increased even slightly from 13,113 to 13,202 (GEL 1991, "Kindergarten").

**Elementary and Secondary Education**

Subjects and Curricula:The most criticized part of the GDR education system was general education. Soon after Margot Honecker's resignation, her successor Günter Fuchs suspended the pre-military education; the *Staatsbürgerkunde* curricula were no longer cumpulsory; and grading was skipped. Instead, teachers were allowed to arrange the civics' lessons on their own

(Verordnungen und Mitteilungen des Ministeriums für Bildung, 1990, I, p. 7). In January 1990, the *Bildungsministerium* published a transitional *Staatsbürgerkunde* conception, drafted by representatives of various reform groups, churches, political parties, and others. In March 1990, a "skeleton" curriculum on political education was published. It was based on a completely new approach of political education, including not only political and social, but also ethical topics. A similiar procedure was applied for history. History lessons in grades 8 and 10 were reduced by 50 %; the curricula were not formally dropped, but teachers were supposed to decide on their own whether or not controversial current contents should be taught. By publishing the "Instructions to History Instruction in Grades 5 to 10" in March 1990, as transitional programs for the school year of 1990/91, the old GDR curricula and textbooks were dropped, substituted by western German textbooks.

Far-reaching changes affected foreign language education, beginning in the school year of 1990/91. The priority of Russian as the first foreign and compulsory language in POS was abolished in favor of the students being able to choose among English, French, or Russian (grade 5 ff.). Before that, English and French lessons had only been offered as an option. Students, interested in the university entrance qualification, had to choose a second foreign language besides Russian. In the 1990/91 schoolyear, about 90 % of all students in grades 5 actually took English as first foreign language which caused serious problems because adequately educated teachers were not available (Lotties/Sachse 1990).

Besides the existing curricula, the *Bildungsministerium* tried to introduce new subjects related to the changing conditions. In March 1990, a "skeleton" curriculum for an optional course on "Structuring Individual Life" (grades 7 and 8) was published. This curriculum, like the political education curriculum, referred to ethical issues. Since the *Wende*, intensive discussions with representatives of the churches took place about reestablishing instruction on religious affairs. But the churches did not want religious affairs instructons at school, referring to their own institutions and programs (EPD-Dokumentation no. 6/92; Die Zeit no. 27 of June 26, 1992: 46).

As already pointed out, polytechnical education was controversial after the *Wende*. Some wanted to renew the polytechnical approach, while others strictly wanted it abolished. Obviously, it was necessary at least to adapt the curricula in reference to the forthcoming market economy. At the end of 1989, about 2,140 polytechnical institutions existed in combinates and companies (Hörner 1990, p. 16), in 1990, many of them tried to get rid of their vocational training obligations. By abolishing various statutory orders on education and economy, the government increased the existing uncertanties. Therefore, the *Bildungsministerium* ruled business-oriented vocational training to be continued, putting the former business-run vocational schools under responsibility of the communes. As in the case of kindergartens and day-care services, the companies were promised subsidies or tax reduction. The companies were obliged to fulfill the existing training contracts. As a consequence of the decree on "Maintaining Services by Company Kindergartens, Polytechnical and Vocational Institutions" (GBl. 1990, I, p. 297) municipal polytechnical institutions emerged as a new structural element of the eastern German education system, since the communes had to take

over the existing polytechnical institutions also. Based on Article 9 (1), Unity Treaty, these regulations were valid until the new Länder had adopted their own laws. The reforms affected not only structures and legal setting, but the programs also. The "Guidelines to Polytechnical Instruction" from March 16, 1990, introduced transitional polytechnical curricula for the school year of 1990/91; changes were particularly related to typically socialist contents like "introduction to socialist production methods" (GEL 1991).

Schoolbooks: A serious problem was to get enough new textbooks for the school year of 1990/91. Books of ideologically unaffected subjects like maths and sciences were to be used for a transitional period of time. The contents to be dealt with were to be selected by the teachers. But this policy did not work with "politically sensitive" subjects like history, economics, political education, literature, and geography. Another problem was the lack of suitable textbooks for foreign language instruction, in English, French, Latin, and Greek.

In the school year of 1990/91, textbooks were provided last by the "*Volk und Wissen*" publishing company which had supplied 540 titles and about 26.5 million copies. As already mentioned, the western German Ministry of Education and Science (BMBW) put 30 million DM at the disposal of the eastern German Ministry of Education to buy about 1.45 million schoolbooks supported by a contribution of five western German publishing houses which especially provided language textbooks and others (GEL 1991, "Schulbuchversorgung 1990/91").

Internal School Structures: The reorganization and democratization of society needed to reorganize and democratize the internal school structures too. To break up the linkage between school and state-party, to give students, parents, and teachers a say, in establishing interest representations, to remove the SED youth organizations from school, to stop putting pressure on students and teachers for "social activities", etc. were ubiquitous demands from all reform forces. A first consequence was the repealing and revising of the socialist "school order" along with eliminating the provision about the leading role of the SED from the GDR constitution. Teachers and students were allowed to elect interest representations, and to work more independently. Since Dec. 1989, Saturday teaching was dropped by a *Volkskammer* resolution. The five-day school week, a rather peripheral issue, already discussed on the IXth Pedagogical Congress and promised to be realized in 1990/91, was one of the first demands of the reform groups. Already in fall 1989, the five-day-week was actually achieved, since many parents did not send their children to school on Saturdays (Anweiler 1990, p. 13).
The provisional "school order", to be replaced by state laws, was enacted by the *Volkskammer* on Sept. 18, 1990. Integrated into the Unity Treaty and limited to June 30, 1991, it was put into force for all public general and vocational schools and regulated, among others, the compulsory school attendance, moving up or down, school administration, and participatory rights of parents, teachers, and students, in general similiar to West German standards (GBl. 1990, I, p. 1579).

Administrative Structures: Thorough reforms were necessary with respect to school and education administration in general. All principals and deputies were reliable SED-members, responsible not only for the pedagogical but also for the politico-ideological guidance. As a result of the decrees of

May 30, 1990 "On Participatory Bodies and Administrative Structures of the School System" and "On the Establishment of Temporary School Supervisory Authorities" (GBl. 1990, I, no. 32) all 6,700 headmasters and deputies of general and vocational schools were dismissed by the end of the school year of 1989/90.

The open positions were advertised, but the former principals were allowed to reapply The new appointments happened under extraordinary pressure, since the time was running out because of the summer vacations beginning on July 7. Within three weeks, the new school conferences in charge of selecting the candidates had to be constituted, qualified applicants had to be proposed to the local school administration, and the new principals had to be appointed within July. The goal of democratic renewal could only partly be achieved. Eight out of ten previous principals were reappointed. New district education authorities were established in order to set up temporary school supervisory bodies which were replaced by county and local school administrations when the Länder were reestablished.

Higher Secondary Education: Many of the changes requested in general education referred to senior high schools. In particular, criticism focussed on the highly selective character of the previous "extended general school" (*Erweiterte Oberschule - EOS*) with its rigorous entrance regulations and limited access. The two-year program was thought to be too short to sufficiently prepare students for higher education (Hörner 1990, p. 18). Furthermore, new profiles regarding the contents of the program were demanded. In early 1990, first changes of the previous concept were already initiated, abolishing the previous admission restrictions. Now, access to the special class of grade 9 which prepared for EOS was based only on a short application of the parents and the performance of the students. These preparatory courses were established at 250 senior high schools (EOS) and 550 junior high schools (POS). Additionally, about 17 % of the regular 10th grade students applied to transfer to a preparatory 10th grade course.

Only a few reforms were about the programs, except the *Staatsbürgerkunde* and history curricula as already mentioned. The compulsory weekly hours were shortened by about 3-4 hours. Optional courses got new profiles, added by informatics and a third foreign language. Besides EOS, there were at last 20 further possibilities to get a university entrance qualification, e.g. at schools and courses offering extended instruction in certain subjects, at higher education institutions, at adult education and military training institutions, etc. They, too, were brought into line with the reforms in the general education system (Hörner 1990, p. 19; GEL 1991, "Hochschulzugangsberechtigung").

Private or independent schools were unknown in the Eeast German education system, apart from a few educational institutions run by the Protestant and Catholic churches. The GDR constitution laid down the state monopoly in education (Article 25). Thus, private education institutions were legally prohibited. Many reform proposals consequently wanted private schools and kindergartens to be admitted. In 1990, the Ministry of Education supported these efforts by establishing a task force "Alternative Pedagogy". On July 22, 1990, the *Volkskammer* enacted the "Constitutional Act on Private Schools" (GBl. 1990, I, p. 1036). An additional decree allowed the establishment of private day-care institutions (GBl. 1990, I, No. 41), replaced in September by a new decree on day-care services for children (GBl. 1990, I, No. 63), which became part of the Unity Treaty.

At the beginning of the school year of 1990/91, ten new private schools were approved besides the already existing church schools, nine of them based on *Waldorf*-pedagogy which became rather popular. In elementary education, various privately-run institutions were founded.

**Vocational Training**

First proposals of the State Secretariat of Vocational Education came out already in November 1989, and of course, *Staatsbürgerkunde* curricula in the vocational schools too were abolished. Bodo Weidemann, the state secretary, requested a new education act. Subjects like civics, business administration, and socialist law should be thoroughly revised. The practice of grading had to be changed, and should be based only on individual performance. In April 1990, new curricula on business administration, and social studies were introduced, supplemented by two alternative subjects, automation and data processing, which had to be selected depending on the program enrolled in.

Improving and extending the eastern German vocational training facilities was a special concern of western German political and economic activists (Zedler 1991, p. 97). The first programs, the two education ministers agreed on, were to guarantee business-oriented vocational training and part-time school. Due to the economic situation of the GDR, becoming increasingly worse over the year 1990, many companies tried to drop their vocational training involvement. This caused a double negative effect, because, additionally to inner-company training, about 65 % of all apprentices were taught in business-run vocational schools (Guder 1991, p. 145).

The political and economic problems led to the Treaty Creating the Currency, Economic, and Social Union" (*Vertrag über die Schaffung einer Währungs-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialunion*), which took effect on July 1, 1990 (BGBL II, p. 537). It contained a few, but far-reaching provisions on eastern German vocational education. Article 2 guaranteed the freedoms of contract, of occupation and labor, and to move within the whole currency area. Contradicting regulations of the GDR constitution should no longer be applied. Article 19 introduced the western German unemployment insurance system including the provisions about promoting vocational retraining. It was no question that labor market policies including vocational education and retraining, were particularly important. In an enclosure of the treaty, the GDR committed herself to prepare for introducing the western German "system of occupations" and vocational as well as professional law. This included the Vocational Education Act, the Handicrafts Code, and various related acts and statutes (Enclosure II to the Treaty). Thus, a transition from state-run vocational education to vocational education under public administration supervision occured, a transition from centralized manpower planning to the free choice of educational occupation. These obligations were made to quickly adapt the programs of vocational training to the western German model in order to guarantee mutual acceptance of certificates and degrees. To comply with this obligation, the Volkskammer passed an act to setting into force of the Vocational Education Act (GBl. 1990, I, p. 907). According to this act, passed on July 19, 1990, the western German vocational education law became valid for all vocational training contracts, from Sept. 1, 1990, onwards. Through the Act on Vocational Schools (*Gesetz über Berufsschulen*) (GBl. 1990,I, p. 919), the existing company-run vocational schools

were transferred into municipal responsibility. The change of the vocational education system caused serious personal, structural and finacial problems. To lessen them, transitional regulations were introduced for avoiding a considerable loss of training facilities. Western German professional organizations like the chambers of trade and commerce and others tried to personally and financially support the system change. As a result of these efforts, about 80 % of the about 125,000 apprentices, starting vocational education on Sept. 1, 1990, could already be trained according to the regulations of the all-German Vocational Education Act (Kümmerlein 1990, p. 16).

But nevertheless, serious problems remained, e.g.: like the shortage of openings for vocational training; illegal dismissals of apprentices, problems related to transfer of company-run vocational school buildings into municipal responsibility; the maintenance of vocational facilities by the communes, and the shortage of modern eqipment for vocational schools and training facilities (Hirt 1991, p. 73).

**Higher Education**

The most important demands of the reform forces about the universities and colleges were to reestablish their traditional autonomy, to abolish compulsory courses in Marxism-Leninism (ML), and to drop the ominous principle of partiality. Already on Nov. 3, 1989, the Minister of Higher and Technical Education, Hans-Joachim Böhme, "declared himself in favor of a real reform" of higher education (Spittmann/Helwig, eds., 1990, p. 18). A first significant change occured on Nov. 30, 1989 when the state licence required for publishing was dropped.

The discontinuation of the compulsory ML-courses made about 10 % of all university instructors superfluous.

On March 1, 1990, the "Standing Conference of Rectors of the GDR" was constituted at the Humboldt University, dissolved already four months later. Referring to the forthcoming German unification, and to avoid double structures, the "West German Standing Conference of University Rectors" (WRK) offered the eastern German universities and colleges to become members.

In his inaugural speech, Lothar de Maizière stressed the importance of introducing a new higher education law guaranteeing self-administraton and autonomy. The right of professors, students, and staff to participate in decision-making should be made possible.

For the eastern German university students, the changes in higher education were extensive; compulsory studies were replaced by individual options; they had to plan and organize their own schedules. The western German education authorities and science- and research organizations tried to support the reform process. In all meetings of the German education ministers in 1990, questions about how to help the eastern German universities were in the centre of discussion. The "Federation Laender Commission on Educational Planning and Promotion of Research" (BLK) released a comprehensive plan for the eastern German education system pointing out how the western German research and science organizations could support their GDR concepts (BLK 1990, Drs K 10/90). In 1990, the "Science Council" (*Wissenschaftsrat*) started to evaluate the eastern German universities and colleges and adopted recommendations for restructuring universities and establishing professional colleges (*Fachhochschulen*).

In Sept. 1990, "Temporary University Rules" (*Vorläufige Hochschulordnung*) and a decree "On Student Self-Administrations" (*Verordnung über die Errichtung von Studentenwerken*) (GBl. 1990, I, Nr. 63) were issued. Like other temporary regulations, they should guarantee funding and further development of the universities until the Länder were able to pass higher education laws.

In the GDR, there were two kinds of technical schools (*Fachschulen*); one could be attended immediately after having finished the POS. These were full-time technical schools including the vocational training of health-care personell and elementary school teachers. The other one required the university entrance qualification offering college-level programs, particularly in technology and economics. In 1990, it was decided not to keep the GDR types of *Fachschulen*. They should be brought into line with western German structure. This meant the transformation of both types of *Fachschulen* and the founding of new technical colleges (Hörner 1990, pp. 22-24).

**Teacher Education**

The *Wende* affected teacher education also. Central demand of most political players--apart from the fundamental demands for "de-ideologization" or banning the SED from education--was to reintegrate teacher education into the universities. In the early course of the reform process, the "orders" on political in-service training of teachers were repealed. In general, in-service training was reorganized and put on a voluntary basis. To support teachers to adapt the new conditions, a ministry of education task force "Further Education" published in-service training programs for "political, pedagogical, and professional reorientation". The former district and county-based institutions of supervision and in-service training (*Pädagogische Bezirks- und Kreiskabinette*) were substituted by the state institutes for in-service training (*Landesinstitute für Lehrerbildung*), the state centers on political education (*Landeszentralen für politische Bildung*), and by independent institutions.

Beyond the changes of programs, the prime structural reform was the introduction of a two-year traineeship, turning away from the previous single-phase teacher training (Hörner 1990, p. 33). The transitional decree "On teacher training" (*Verordnung über die Ausbildung für Lehrämter*) (GBl. 1990, I, p. 1584), transferred the structure of the western German teacher education.

**Adult Education/Further Education**

The implementation of new adult education programs was influenced by the political and economic developments and the reform groups mostly interested in general and vocational education. But it was obvious that the eastern German "People`s Colleges" (*Volkshochschulen*) had to be set free from their rigid administrative control. In addition, they had to develop new profiles and change their almost exclusive orientation toward the achievement of formal qualifications and vocational certificates (Hörner 1990, p. 36). On Jan. 25, 1990, the Ministry of Education set up a task force

"People`s Colleges" which proposed to the participants` demands and interests, and to put stress on political, economic, and social aspects. The approach of "problem-oriented" learning was to have priority over "fact-oriented" learning. The task force suggested to put the public adult education institutions under municipal responsibility. The regulations on *Volkshochschulen*, passed in 1990, were--comparable to the school system--about basic changes of curricula and examinations. The economic situation, growing unemployment, and the forthcoming transition to market economy made it necessary to concentrate on retraining, and foreign language training programs (DLZ 32/90).

## The Unity Treaty and its Importance for the East German Laender Education Systems

The Unity Treaty (BGBL II, p. 537) was the agreement to reestablish Germany`s national unity. It ruled how and when former West German law should take effect in eastern Germany, and, in how far GDR law should remain valid. This applied to some education acts and statutes also, although educational issues were not in the centre of the unification process (Hage 1991, p. 49). The Unity Treaty required the law of the new Länder to keep educational institutions as they were not to be closed. Most important, the treaty ruled how to dismiss instructors and administrators, if personally or professionally unsuited, no longer needed, or if their departments or institutions were closed. This provision affected tens of thousands of employees in education and research.

The Articles 35, 37, and 38 Unity Treaty were dealing with culture, education, and science. Article 35 ruled how to avoid damaging eastern German cultural institutions like museums, theatres, libraries, archives, and art collections. Additionally, the guarantee of funding, if necessary, was ruled. The Articles 37 and 38 were about education, science, and research. A memorandum explained and justified the regulations of the treaty (BT-Drs 11/7760, p. 355 ff.). On Article 37, e.g., it argued: Basic reforms on and the modernization of the education system on all levels would be necessary, and the complete takeover of West German law by the new Länder was the precondition to quickly realize the urgent reforms. The annex to the treaty contained detailed transitional regulations to bridge the period between the accession of the GDR and the adoption of new Länder laws. A particularly important goal for the GDR negotiators was to make sure that all diplomas and certificates acquired in the GDR were required equal and valid (Hage 1991, p. 49). But at the end of the negotiations, validity could only be achieved to the area of the new Länder. In all-Germany, GDR diploma and certificates are valid only if their comparability was ascertained by the KMK or other "competent bodies" (*Zuständige Stelle*, i.e., *Kammern und Verbände*). Meanwhile, both finished the ascertainment of comparability of all eastern German diplomas (according to Article 37 (1) Unity Treaty) (KMK of Oct. 10/11, 1991).

**School system**

A memorandum, referring to Article 37 Unity Treaty, argued that the regulations, necessary to renew the school system, are to be made by the new Länder. The complete takeover of federal law, as laid down in the memorandum as well, did insofar not apply to school law, as the Federation does not have any legislative or administrative competences on school affairs. Thus, Article 37 assigned the renewal of the school system to the new Länder. "Relevant arrangements" issued by the KMK, esp. the "Hamburg Agreement" of 1971/1984, should serve as regulatory framework (BT-Drs 11/7760, p. 172). Further statutes on temporary school rules and on parent-teacher-committees were added to the annex of the Unity Treaty in order to bridge the period until the new Länder laws were passed (Verträge 1990b, p. 817).

**Vocational Education**

Of prime importance to West German negotiators was the introduction of the West German vocational education law, and the West German "system of occupations" to eastern Germany as soon as possible (Jobst Ed. 1991, p. 12). Article 37 (3) Unity Treaty--supplementarily to the provisions of the Treaty Creating a Currency, Economic, and Social Union-- contained a provision about treating the West and East German vocational and professional certificates as equals.
Enclosure I was about some amendments of the Trade and Craft Code (*Handwerksordnung*) and the vocational education act (Fetzer 1991, p. 204 f.; p. 212-214). Eastern German apprentices who had taken up vocational training according to the East German vocational education system, could finish according to its provisions, if they wanted to. Otherwise, only one statute on pay-rise for apprentices remained in force until the collective bargaining parties *(Tarifvertragsparteien)* had worked out new agreements on wages (Verträge 1990a, p. 816).

**Higher Education**

On May 10, 1990, The KMK issued a regulation depending on entrance qualifications about East German students who wanted to enroll in courses at West German universities. This provision remained valid (Article 37 Unity Treaty). Another KMK agreement was about mutually recognizing teacher exams. The major contents of the Unity Treaty and its enclosures about higher education were:

- the recognition of courses or credits when students changed universities before having completed their degrees;
- temporary regulations including the East German universities into the numerus-clausus procedures in case of access limitation according to the ZVS-Treaty (*Zentralstelle für die Vergabe von Studienplätzen*):
- introducing the West German study grants act *(Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz - BAFöG)* on Jan. 1, 1991, with some transitional provisions until Dec. 31, 1990;

- transitional statutes, remaining in force, on student administration, and on teacher education, no later than June 30, 1991 (Verträge 1990b, p. 110; p. 695-701; p. 816-817).

**Science and Research**

Article 38 Unity Treaty dealt with science and research (Verträge 1990b, p. 111 f.). The memorandum to the Unity Treaty specified the time schedule for restructuring the research institutions and adapting them to the legal framework of the Basic Law. Besides reestablishing the freedom of research and research institutions, the memorandum introduced the West German structures of promotion of research and insofar as necessary raising the autonomy of the East German research to the West German level. The GDR Research Council *(Forschungsrat)* was abolished. But the most drastic provisions were about the centralized Academy of Sciences (AdW) and its personnel.

The West German Science Council was commissioned to assess all East German research institutions, their research programs, output, and scientists. Based on the Science Council recommendations, the Academy of Sciences was separated from its research institutes which were dissolved, transferred into the universities, or--as independent research institutes--put under responsibility of the new Länder, or of both, Federation and Länder ("Blue List Institutions"). Correspondingly, the legal framework for research in the GDR was dropped.

## The Reestablishment of the Länder on Territory of the GDR

**History of the Eastern German Laender**

Partly recognizing the historical territorial units (e.g., Saxony or Thuringia), the Soviet Military Administration (SMAD) established Länder and Provinces on the territory of its occupation zone.

According to the SMAD Order No. 5 of July 9, 1945, the Soviet Zone of Occupation (SBZ) was split up into five administrative units called Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (only "Mecklenburg" since 1947), Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia, and Mark Brandenburg. The decentralization of the administration structures of Germany was one of the core requirements of the Potsdam Agreement of Aug. 2, 1945: "The administration of public affairs in Germany shall be arranged on the decentralization of political subdivision and the development of local responsibilities".

The administration of the SBZ Länder and Provinces was taken up already in July, 1945 and in October, 1945, a German central administration was built up in East Berlin dominated by communists (later SED) which incrementally cut back the competences of the Länder (Laufer 1991, p. 59).

In 1946-1947, the Länder and Provinces adopted constitutions, drafted by the SED and approved by the SMAD. After the Allied Control Council had formally dissolved the Land Prussia, the previous Provinces Mark Brandenburg, Saxony, and Saxony-Anhalt became Länder.

The constitution of the GDR of 1949 contained federalist structures with Länder and a *Länderkammer*. Article 1 read: "Germany is an indivisible democratic republic, and is based on the German Länder". The constitution guaranteed the independence of the Länder, but transferred most competences to the central government. The centralist trend began with the establishment of the German Economic Commission or *Deutsche Wirtschaftskommission (DWK)* already in 1947, based on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism; thus it was increasingly difficult for the Länder to make decisions on their own .

Between 1950 and 1952, the powers left to the Länder were transferred to the central government. On the convention in July 1952, the SED decided to abolish the Länder governments and parliaments, but not the Länder as such. The concept of democratic centralism did not go together with federalist structures and the separation of powers. By a law on "democratizing the GDR administration" of July 23, 1952, the Laender were abolished. They were reorganized into 14 districts with administrations directly integrated into the centralistic system and put under direct control of the government. East Berlin became the 15th district. Although without any competences, the Länder representation was not abolished before 1958.

**Federalism in the GDR since 1989**

The "peaceful revolution" in the GDR revitalized the federal idea also. While the SED regime rapidly lost power in fall 1989, people went back to the traditions of regionalism. From the very beginning, the reestablishment of federal structures played an important role in the thinking and in political proposals of the reform groups. The demands for democratic self-determination were connected with those for federalization and decentralization. Already when debating Hans Modrow`s inaugural speech in November, 1989, Lothar de Maizière (CDU) and Günter Hartmann (NDPD) proposed to reestablish the former Länder. Finally, all political parties, including the SED-PDS, supported the idea of reestablishing federal structures (Lapp 1990, p. 21).

Article 41 (1) of the draft constitution of the working group "New Constitution of the GDR" of the Central Round Table read: "The GDR is a Democratic Federal State, constituted under the rule of law, and consists of the Laender".

With respect to reintroducing federalist structures, the coalition agreement of the grand coalition under Lothar de Maizière wanted to create a federative republic; the establishment of Länder structures comparable to those of the FRG and independent Länder legislatives; a redistribution of powers and competences between central government and Länder governments; a reestablishment of the *Länderkammer*, and the setting up of a common tax system (Lapp 1990, p. 28). The GDR Länder should be designed like their predecessors 1945-1952. To support and accelerate the process of "federalization", a special Ministry on Municipal and Regional Affairs was created.

In 1990, the outlook of the Länder structures was intensively discussed. Contrary to warnings of experts that the reestablishing of the five former Länder would leave each of them too small to survive economically, most people wanted the former structures back.

By the Act on Establishment of Länder *(Ländereinführungsgesetz)* (GBl. 1990, I, p. 955), the district structure was undone and the five Länder, widely following their former borders, were

reestablished. Further regulations were about a "federal clause", the constitutional order of the Länder, the allocation of jurisdiction and legislation, and the financial system (Paragraphs 3 ff.). An act on local self-administration had already been passed on May 17, 1990, to undo the democratic centralism on the level of counties, towns, and villages.

The *Landtag* elections of Oct. 14, 1990, brought the process of federalization and democratization de jure to its end. In four out of five Länder, the CDU won the elections, but only in Saxony got the absolute majority, while in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia CDU-lead coalitions were formed. Brandenburg is ruled by a coalition of SPD, FDP, and Alliance 90/Greens.

Regarding to the *Ländereinführungsgesetz*, the Länder parliaments had to convene for their first meetings already in October, to elect the parliamentary presidents, their deputies, and the minister-presidents, and to pass the temporary standing orders. Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Saxony-Anhalt also had to decide about their capitals.

On the local level, administrations and councils (parliaments) were established and laws on self-administration adopted. In many cases, the communes had considerable difficulties to get their administrations going (Klatt 1991, pp. 99-106).

General education rests within the legislation of the Laender; the Federation is only in charge of "framework" or "skeleton" legislation on higher education and of concurrent education on vocational training.

In this period of transition, the GDR Ministry of Education was in a dilemma: Its task was to keep the educational institutions going and to fulfill some of the most urgent reform demands; on the other hand it had to replace itself by developing the new Laender administration structures. Consequently, this policy was to abstain from major decisions, the new Länder should be responsible for.

Already on May 30, 1990, it had issued a decree on establishing temporary supervisory bodies, so-called Land school offices *(Landesschulämter)* with Land schools inspectors (*Landesschulräte*) at their top. The Land schools inspectors were appointed by the minister in agreement with the government plenipotentiaries of the districts . The inspectors had to coordinate and to supervise the school system during the process of reestablishing the Länder and the communes. They substituted the dismissed previous district and county school inspectors (*Bezirks- und Kreisschulräte*). At the same time, the Land school offices were a kind of forerunner to the forthcoming education ministries. But, until new Länder authorities were established, the Ministry of Education remained the supreme supervisory authority.

After the *Landtag* elections of Oct. 14, 1990, the new education ministries--supported by their western German counterparts-- immediately drafted school bills. As mentioned above, all current school reform acts, except the Saxonian schools act, are adopted by the respective parliaments only as temporary acts, to be tested over the coming years.

During the period of transition from central to regional administration, some departments of previous GDR ministries were kept going as Common Institutions of the Länder (*Gemeinsame Einrichtungen der Länder*) (Article 14 Unity Treaty). Therefore, some departments of the former

Ministry of Education continued to work until June 30, 1991 as the Common Institution of the Laender for Education and Science. The institution advised the new Länder ministries, e.g, on educational law, administrative, and organizational issues.

## The Transformation of Social Studies from Socialist *Staatsbürgerkunde* to Democratic Political Education

Since 1989, the criticism of the GDR education system was particularly focussing on *Staatsbürgerkunde*, or civics, and the Marxist-Leninist *Grundlagenstudium*, the ubiquitous complimentary studies in communist ideology. Both therefore were in the center of political debate and decision-making about democratizing the education system immediately after the break-down of the SED-regime (Lüdkemeier and Siegel 1992, pp. 32-33). *Staatsbürgerkunde* as a compulsory subject was dropped already in winter 1989/90. The ML-*Grundlagenstudium*, compulsory for all university and college students, was abolished during the winter semester of 1989/90. The institutes for social (or political) sciences, in 1990 emerging out of the former departments of Marxism-Leninism, were closed ("*abgewickelt*"), most professors and instructors were dismissed. In the Länder, civics teachers were either dismissed or--if they could teach another subject--were no longer allowed to teach the subjects of political education such as history, civics,and economics. The study programs for *Staatsbürgerkunde*, although thoroughly restructured, were broken off by the new GDR minister of education and science, when appointed in May 1990. The teacher students already enrolled had to choose another second major, or *Zweitfach* (which could not be the reformed political education programs).

These often whole-sale decisions, based on the perception of ML and *Staatsbürgerkunde* as the core of ideology in teaching, contributed to preventing universities and schools from coming to terms with the GDR-history or politico-ideological instruction. Meanwhile consensus is growing that a thorough analysis of theory and practice of civics in the GDR is a conditio sine qua non for establishing a democratic political education in the new Länder.

Politico-ideological instruction in GDR schools and universities cannot be seen separately from "ideological work" in general. So-called ideological work was supposed to play a basic role among the "legalities of socialist development" and as such was understood to be the center-part of all party activities. It was the idea that only permanent ideological persuasive work would build up a real understanding of socialism as the only just and humane social order. Socialist class consciousness was thought to be the basis of socialist activism. Visible expressions of this notion were the inflated apparatus for political propaganda and agitation, organized mass demonstrations, and the ubiquitious ideological "instruction" all age groups and social classes were submitted to (see Riechert 1989, p. 417). Attempts to reform this permanent ideological propaganda through a more true-to-life and problem-oriented kind of education failed because of the resistance of the old leadership in the Politbureau.

From this background, a differentiated more-level type of political culture had emerged in the GDR. One can distinguish four different levels:

- the formal level of party propaganda, i.e. the way of talking of party functionaries, the "language" of the mass media, printed social science literature, and university and school textbooks;
- the also formal level of *Staatsbürgerkunde* in schools, political instruction, and other forms of propagandistic influencing and its practice;
- the mostly informal level of talking politics among colleagues, friends, and within families;
- the level of system criticism on which--for most of the GDR-history only internally, but during the 1980s also publicly--political indoctrination was criticized.

This four-level differentiation must neglect general processes and nuances, but it can serve as an instrument to gain more differentiated access to the political culture of the GDR which is often portrayed in rather simplified terms. In the context of our topic, it is necessary to outline a few aspects of these four levels. Phenomena expressed on the official or ideology level (e.g., in text books) were mostly boring descriptions, completely out of touch with life, idealizing socialist presence and future without confronting them with reality and problems; they were putting people off. Official documents and text books etc. were formulated apodictally. Theorems and theories were presented as dogmas one was not supposed to falsify or to express scepticism against, but which allowed the "system" to take through measures against dissidents. Not many high school and college students or instructors were prepared to publicly criticize since those who did were relegated or dismissed immediately. Most expressed criticism only as long or as far as personal consequences were not to be expected or they fled into non-political niches. Another consequence of this kind of Ideologiepolitik, or official "ideology policy", was that people were sated with party propaganda, be it through mass media or "instruction" which led into political apathy and diminished the willingness of getting involved in community services. Thus, political propaganda increased the distance between reality and ideology, it became counterproductive and contributed to undermining the system of GDR-socialism (see Okun 1992, pp. 18-19).

The prevailing political mood within the GDR society below this official level was critical. Particularly among colleagues and friends and within the families, daily-life problems, the basic deficits of socialism, and the necessary reforms were discussed extensively. Criticism, but also resignation, grew corresponding to the increasing gap between propaganda and reality. This was particularly true during the 1980s with respect to basic human right violations or restrictions, the official attitude towards *perestroika*, and to the growing defects in economy and society. Official hypocrisy on the one hand and the pressure of the real problems alienated the political class from the people.

What was the specific role of social science instruction in schools and universities which was put to the center of conflict between official goal and reality ? This level of political communication was different to the formal level in many respects:

- Different to TV or radio which people could turn off, escaping from political indoctrination was impossible, since *Staatsbürgerkunde* and ML courses were compulsory. In consequence, both were the breeding ground for creating double standards and deceitfulness.
- In *Staatsbürgerkunde* and ML courses, the official image of socialism as designed by propaganda and reality as reflected by daily-life experiences of students and teachers clashed. The way how teachers dealt with this conflict was different, dependent on human qualities, e.g., courage to stand up for one's beliefs, but also of methodological and scholarly competences. The range of teacher behaviour stretched from "fulfilling the orders" and suppressing dissident opinions to an open minded and critical attitude of dealing with social conflicts. The latter often enjoyed a significant reputation and confidence among their students.

One cannot quantify the behaviour of teachers and instructors ex posteriori. But there is evidence for the critical approach like, i.e., that on request of their students teachers continued to teach *Staatsbürgerkunde* after the "peaceful revolution" and that students voluntarily enrolled in social sciences (former ML) classes until most of them were dropped in summer 1990.
The way how political renewal occured in the eastern German schools made many teachers and instructors uncertain and bitter. Some "reforms" did not contribute to building up democratic self-consciousness among teachers and students.

But generally speaking one cannot doubt that *Staatsbürgerkunde* and ML instruction contributed to the official and real functions of the socialist education system (see, e.g., Anweiler 1990; Klier 1990):

- The fundamental goal of the socialist school and of all its subjects was to educate socialist personalities which should have a highly developed socialist consciousness. The *Staatsbürgerkunde* curriculum was supposed to particularly contribute to the "thinking, feeling, and acting of the youth in the spirit of the communist ideals", to develop "socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism", and to care for "political steadfastness and unconditional solidarity with their socialist fatherland; the SED, and its revolutionary struggle" (Neuner 1989, pp. 219-220).
- The school of the GDR in general and without doubt *Staatsbürgerkunde* in particular educated toward a double standard of thinking and talking and in this way contributed to hypocrisy, causing moral and psychological deformations of teachers and students; their consequences cannot be assessed currently. As a counter-concept of the western system, the socialist education system claimed to abolish educational privileges; in fact, it created the new "privilege" of adaptation. It was the uncritical and adapted student who got access to senior high school and higher education and who would make a successful educational career. Therefore, criticism remained outside the class-room, students said what they were expected to say.
- To coordinate ideological, contextual, and methodological aspects of teaching Staatsbürgerkunde always confronted the teachers with great problems: the exaggerated

importance of the curriculum and the wealth of material they were expected to talk about which was typical for most subjects of the GDR school, the "ideology" of completeness, and finally the ideological approach of being supposed to convince, made *Staatsbürgerkunde* in many respects a very one-sided kind of instruction. First, *Staatsbürgerkunde* was not intellectually challenging; instructed in a flat and repetitive manner, Marxism-Leninism was to be believed in as the only right "scientific" weltanschauung and as the source of the unquestionable decisions of the SED. At the same time, many issues were not dealt with; *Staatsbürgerkunde* was a kind of "monocultural provincialism" contrary to an internationally open and pluralistic civics.

The amount of materials to be tought led to the typical teacher-dominated type of instruction. It was mostly impossible (and without doubt not wanted) to let the students recognize and discuss problems or develop alternatives independently. Instead, the teacher delivered "prefabricated solutions", be they utopian or realistic. The teacher-dominated instruction was based on lecture (teacher), formalized discussion, and student homework. The plurality of methods, typical for political education in West Germany, was unknown in the GDR. Finally, teachers were not used or did not dare to improvize or drop certain materials (see Both 1990, pp. 23-26).

Democratic political education in united Germany currently is particularly challenged, which, e.g., the Rostock events clearly underline. Besides the general problems, civics is confronted with (e.g., 1-2 hours per week, taught only in some junior high school grades), it has--in eastern Germany--to serve different goals at the same time: to come to grips with the socialist past, to deal with the obvious problems of German unification, and to introduce into democratic political thinking and behaviour. Following, some theses shall describe the different tasks and challenges of political education in Germany today:

1. Democratic political education and socialist-ideological instruction differ with respect to their basics, contents, and methods fundamentally. Thus, *Staatsbürgerkunde* cannot be adapted to or modified along pluralistic standards; the task is to develop and to implement completely new curricula (Sarcinelli 1991, p. 16 f.). The principal differences are currently sometimes underestimated; and the problems cannot be solved by simply replacing the teacher body. The pluralistic concept of political education is oriented to the notion of *mündiger Bürger*, or the "responsible citizen". It is based on (1) teaching of the basics and mechanisms of democratic societies; (2) developing the abilities for critical understanding of the political process, of political alternatives, decision making, and the putting-through of conflicting interests, as regulated by democratic principles; (3) supporting eastern Germans to act independently (e.g., as politicians, citizen group activists, or voters etc.) within the framework of the new society.

2. Political education as practiced in western Germany cannot be transplanted unconditionally into eastern Germany. Among the circumstances which must be watched are the following:

- As outlined, different political attitudes and behavior emerged in the old GDR society which now are preconditions for democratic political education; these are, e.g., the fear to

express oneself and to join public controversial discourse, a kind of political escapism, or the basic reluctance toward political education, equated with ideological instruction (Schörken 1991, pp. 37-45). Political education in eastern Germany must also refer to the experiences of the "peaceful revolution" (e.g., basic democratic activism) and to the ambivalent unification experiences (e.g., disappointments, new political experiences, perception of inferiority, etc.).

- Political education in western Germany is the result of long democratic discussions about norms, values, and methods, based on 40-year political developments. Political education, when based on the concepts of western Germany, will remain something "alien" if space for the historical specifics of eastern Germany will not be present in political education.

3. Political education in the united Germany must be primarily historical instruction; this includes the following five aspects:

- coping with four decades of political and social history of the GDR;
- coming to terms with the deformed notion of history of the SED-state;
- studying the historical fundaments of democratic societies, including the models of democracy as well as the present political conditions and their shortcomings;
- differentiation of the mutual images and perceptions of East and West Germans;
- studying the common German past, including the different experiences of coping with Nazism and Holocaust or of driving this history out of the collective German memory (see Mobius 1992, p. 345).

4. Political education in all-Germany is challenged by new tasks which come up as consequences of German reunification and European unification. One can distinguish at least three tasks:

- Political education also in western Germany must reflect the new political circumstances. This includes the fact that the "accession of the GDR to the FRG" created a new Federal Republic of Germany or transformed the old one. This is not only related to the inner-German relations and complex challenges of internal unification, but also to the international role of Germany in Europe, particularly with respect to eastern Europe, and in the world.
- Political education must support students to understand the process of political change, to be able to relate it to political theory and basic values of western democracy. In this context, some basic "compulsory categories" of political education were formulated: democratic procedure; protection of human rights; importance of individual initiative, motivation, and creativity; freedom and international understanding; ecological responsibility; historical consciousness; understanding for the international inter-dependence of Germany (Wernstedt 1991, pp. 7-9). Among the issues which currently got a growing relevance are the renewed ethnic nationalism, attitudes and violent activism against aliens, and joblessness in Germany and Europe.

5. The aforementioned challenges for and tasks of political education in eastern Germany request adequate political conditions and clear decisions of the political activists. The current situation can be described as following:

- In all new Länder, new although mostly transitional curricula for civics (*Gesellschaftskunde, Gesellschaftslehre, Sozialkunde*) have been available since the school year of 1991/92. Civics is taught between one and two hours weekly, but not in all grades from five to ten. In senior high schools, it is--like in the western Laender--not compulsory.
- While in 1990-91 mostly West German textbooks were used, meanwhile new books came out which also reflect the specific situation in eastern Germany.
- Since September 1991, nearly all teachers who teach political education have not graduated in social science. They were educated only in short-term courses which are inadequate with respect to the challenges and tasks of the subject.
- Until 1997-98, new civics teachers will be available only from western German universities. It is necessary that new university positions will be filled as soon as possible to begin the new social science programs.
- In both parts of the country, the prestige of civics is relatively low. It will depend on different means, including political decision-making, to generally lift the reputation of the subject. Politicians like to pay lip-service to political education, but not to draw the necessary, e.g., budgetary, conclusions.

First explorative studies about teacher attitudes in eastern Germany are already available. Most teachers seem to be prepared to support ideological pluralism and tolerance toward different positions and to express their own positions (DLZ no. 24/1992, p. 3). Some teachers seem to be open to new alternative methods like student-oriented teaching, project method, etc. If this new orientation is always based on insight, cannot be answered. Still many teachers seem to prefer traditonal methods of teaching; "action-orientation" as an approach in teaching still is a rare exception. Many teachers still believe that one issue can be put through in a three or four hour unit. Some teachers seem to support the idea that inviting officials would bring the requested reference to reality into the classroom. A growing number of teachers seem to have no difficulties to cope with the new freedom of action which the new curricula allow with respect to topic areas, and seem to enjoy this option. Currently, only a few in-service training courses supporting the teachers to work more efficiently with the new curricula and materials are available.

## Structures and Concepts in Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education of the New Länder

### Primary and Secondary Education

While the western German Länder had some decades to discuss and establish reforms on their education systems, the eastern Länder had hardly one year to pass school reform acts and to establish new structures, contents, and pedagogical guidelines. These reforms, carried out within the shortest possible time, caused basic changes in schooling (Döbert/Martini 1992, p. 94).

After the accession, first measures served the goal to carry through the school year of 1990/91. This was mostly based on old GDR structures, but with new curricula in most subjects and pedagogical freedom for teachers. Various transitional regulations were issued to keep the education institutions and administrations working, until the Länder set into force own education laws. All transitional regulations based on the Unity Treaty were valid only for limited time. This put considerable pressure on the administrations (Hage 1991, pp. 49-56).

From Oct. 1990 to June, 1991, education reform bills were worked out, discussed, and passed by the *Landtage*. Saxony was the only Land to enact an unrestricted education act; the other Länder passed temporary education acts. Based on these acts, the regional and local administrations were able to work out guidelines, decrees, and curricula, a process which is still ongoing.

One should keep in mind that there is a double demand addressed to the new Länder education systems: they shall contribute on the one hand to the over-all democratization of eastern German society. On the other, the education systems themselves at first had to be comprehensively democratized with respect to contents, structures, curricula, teaching methods, and participatory rights (Hörner 1990, preface). Both will be a long-term process.

### School Reform Legislation

In principle, the Basic Law and the Länder constitutions are the framework, within which the school systems and their legal foundations had been worked out. All new Länder school reform acts directly refer to these constitutional basics (Döbert/Martini 1992, p. 98), they refer to the right of every youth to get an education appropriate to his or her abilities and interests.

Furthermore, the school acts require:

- to offer equal educational possibilities for everybody;
- not to consider the social background or economic situation of their parents;
- to educate young persons to think and act independently within community and society;
- to orientate toward European humanistic traditions, liberty, individuality, tolerance, responsibility, and ecological consciousness (see e.g. the Preamble of the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern School Reform Act).

Brandenburg: The School Reform Act was passed by the *Landtag* on May 28, 1991. There were no serious controverses about the bill, although the coalition agreement among SPD, FDP, and Alliance 90/Greens, and the inaugural speech of the minister-president Manfred Stolpe, expressed preference for the comprehensive school which now is ubiquitious in Brandenburg (Schmidt 1991, p. 5). The Land established a six-year elementary school, like in Berlin. This could make an integration of the two education systems easier if both Länder should politically unite, as currently discussed.

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern: Already on April 25, 1991, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern passed its School Reform Act (SRGM), valid until a comprehensive school act will be set into force. It introduced an *Orientierungsstufe* for the fifth and sixth grade, to get more flexibility and permeability between the lower secondary school tracks. Particularly in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, the *Orientierungsstufe* seems to be necessary because it is the only eastern German Land which introduced the traditional three-track system of *Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, and *Gymnasium*, added by comprehensive schools which can be admitted under special conditions (SRGM, Paragraph 6). Insofar, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, like Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein, or Lower-Saxony has a four-track school system.

The School Act of the Free State Saxony, passed on June 20, 1991, is the only definitely valid school act of the new Länder. The structures as laid down in it will be realized in the school year of 1992/93. The discussions about the bill were particularly long lasting, and controversial, particularly about comprehensive school issues (Schmidt 1991, p. 9). The comprehensive school supporters were confronted with a bill that did not even mention the comprehensive school while an earlier bill of the ministry of November 1990, still had referred to it. Now, the lower secondary school system in Saxony structurally has two tracks, consisting of the *Gymnasium* and the so-called "*differenzierte Mittelschule*", a medium level differentiated "middle school" combining the former *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* and internally differentiating according to student performance (Paragraphs 4-7).

Sachsen-Anhalt: The Provisional Reform Act was passed on May 24, 1991 without any major discussions. The school system consists of--after the four-year elementary school--the *Gymnasium*, and, similiar to Saxony, the internally differentiated secondary school (*Sekundarschule*). The act is valid until Dec. 31, 1992. Different to other Länder, it already includes provisions on participatory rights of parents and students.

Thuringia: On March 25, 1990, the Landtag passed a Provisional Education Act, limited until July 31, 1993. Similiar to Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt, only two types of secondary schools were established: *Gymnasium* and regular school (*Regelschule*), combining *Hauptschule* and *Realschule*. Some controversies about the draft were about comprehensive schools which will not be established except for experimental purposes.

Following, some structural elements of the reformed school systems will be compared more concisely.

Apart from Saxony, the transition from the former socialist polytechnical secondary school to the multi-track school system took place at the beginning of the school year of 1991/92. Saxony wanted a more solid preparation, and therefore implemented the school reform beginning in 1992/93.

**Primary Education**

Elementary Schools: Besides the reunited city of Berlin, only Brandenburg has introduced a six-year elementary school. The other new Länder decided to establish four-year programs, adapting the western German structures.

Elementary-school day-care: (*Schulhort*): Care for elementary school children throughout the day is provided for in all new Länder. After-school centers are usually affiliated with elementary schools. Day-care can be considered as one of the structural elements of the GDR education system which were taken over. In the western German Länder, day-care for first to fourth graders is exceptional. The attendance is voluntary, depending on application by the parents.

**Secondary Education**

Secondary Schools: With the exception of Brandenburg, secondary schooling starts at grade 5. Interestingly, all the Länder of the former GDR established the *Gymnasium*, although, e.g., the Brandenburg coalition government first wanted to offer the *Gymnasium* as an exception only. As a concession to the coalition party FDP, and a wide range of middle class parents, the *Gymnasium* became a regular "track" in the school system of Brandenburg.

Mecklenburg-Vorpommern stuck to both, *Hauptschule* and *Realschule*, in contrast to Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia. They later created a new type of secondary school with *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* "under one roof", somewhat similiar to Hamburg. Brandenburg did not establish the *Hauptschule*, but the *Realschule* as an independent school form, again as a concession to the FDP. Originally, the SPD as the senior partner of the coalition, wanted most students attending comprehensive schools, but was not able to push this through. While comprehensive schools "can" be established in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, the Land has a relatively high number, contrary to the original goal of the government; the three south-eastern Länder do not provide for it.

*Orientierungsstufe*: The *Orientierungsstufe* (5th and 6th grades), supporting school-track decision-making in the 7th grade, is introduced in all new Länder except Brandenburg, where it is superfluous because of the six-year elementary school.

"Differentiation": "Internal" course differentiation happens within the same school, mostly beginning in 6th or 7th grade when certain subjects like, e.g., German, math, science, or foreign

languages are taught on two or three different course levels. Course differentiation is typical for the German comprehensive school, similiar to many western European lower secondary schools. The eastern German Länder, by introducing an additional type of integrated lower secondary school which excludes the *Gymnasium*, have either to decide to fully abandon the *Hauptschule* and *Realschule* tracks and replace their different graduation certificates or to offer these two different degrees which consequently requires a certain kind of internal differentiation, based on student performance and interest. Currently, the school reform acts are somewhat unclear about this point. In Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, "external" differentiation is a direct consequence of the three-track system; students have to enroll in one of these different schools or to apply for one of the Land`s comprehensive schools where course differentiation follows the already established principles. The same is true with Brandenburg with comprehensive schools as the primary school type or *Realschule* and *Gymnasium* as separate tracks. But the three other Länder created the aforementioned new "integrated" lower secondary school, may it be called *Sekundar-*, *Mittel-*, or *Regelschule*. The legally provided concepts of differentiation are not very precise, referring to "kind and level of the subjects chosen" (Thuringia), to "student performance" (Saxony), or to "different educational programs under one roof" (Saxony-Anhalt). They find themselves in a dilemma situation. Public and politicians in these Länder wanted the unified socialist school to be thoroughly revised, but not to go back to the traditional three-track system; on the other hand, when restructuring the school system, they were forced by the Unity Treaty to submit their school policy to the "relevant agreements" of the KMK. Among them, the Hamburg Agreement requires possibilities of graduation from final degrees at the lower secondary school on *Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, and *Gymnasium* levels. The KMK meeting of June 1992 made it very clear (see FAZ June 27th, 1992) that these Länder must adapt their combined or integrated secondary school to these requirements if they do not want to risk that their certificates will not be recognized by the other Länder. Thus, generally speaking, they have two options: to stand for every single Land`s right on its own school policy (and consequently to work for abolishing some of the unifying Hamburg Agreement requirements) *or* to specify the profiles of the lower school tracks within this new secondary school. For the latter, the concept of comprehensive school offers a working alternative.

Leaving Diploma: On the lower secondary level, the students can get final certificates after 9th or after 10th grade, corresponding either to the attended type of school (*Hauptschulabschluß*, *Realschulabschluß*) or to the achieved qualification which allows to enroll in vocational education programs (basic or extended leaving certificate, *Allgemeine or erweiterte Berufsbildungsreife*). While in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, students get leaving certificates regarding to the attended school, in Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia, leaving certificates are differentiated regarding to further educational options. Some Länder require students who strive for the Realschule diploma to pass a final examination.

Higher Secondary Education: Due to the KMK agreements, the single Land has only limited possibilities to design higher secondary education on its own (Döbert/Martini 1992, p. 104). Fundamentally different to the current Saarbrücken Agreement of the KMK, all except one eastern

Länder have only a two-year *Oberstufe* or senior high school. Like the western Länder, only Brandenburg provides a three-year *Oberstufe*. All *Gymnasien* include the upper secondary level. Like in the west, most Brandenburg comprehensive schools have an *Oberstufe*. Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, which contrary to the three southern Länder allows comprehensive schools when requested by parents, in some cases requires students who strive for *Abitur* graduating from *Gesamtschulen* to enroll in senior high schools.

Beyond this, university entrance qualificatons can be acquired at higher vocational schools (*berufliche Gymnasien*) as well as in various adult education institutions like, e.g., "evening *Gymnasien*".

The programs of the *Oberstufe* in the new Länder follow the West German "model" as put down in the Hamburg Agreement, composed of compulsory and optional courses. Lower and higher level within the same subjects allow a broad variety of individual study profiles.

"Permeability" of educational programs: In a school system based on "tracking" and "streaming", equal opportunities might be questionable. A major point to guarantee equality of opportunity is that admission to school tracks and courses is unrestricted (e.g., tuition) and that changing the type of school is possible. In the German school system, the legal and de facto possibilities to move among the lower secondary schools is crucial. Since *Orientierungsstufe* shall support the selection of the secondary school track, it is easy to change in 5th and 6th grades. Elementary school teachers give recommendations for the track which fits the student's abilities, but it is solely up to parents to make the choice. A "qualified" *Hauptschule* degree allows to enroll at *Realschule*, and a "qualified" *Realschule* diploma allows to enroll at *Gymnasium*. Moving "downwards", e.g., from *Gymnasium* to *Realschule*, happens when students almost fulfill the minimun learning requirements; "upwards mobility" in contrary is possible for students with achievements that correspond to the higher track requirements. The school reform acts of the new Länder in general and the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Act in particular emphasizes that it is only the parents who push through their wishes for their children's educational "careers". This policy must be understood against the background of the GDR school system where educational decisions were only from above.

To go into details about the existing options:

- Brandenburg: Changing within the lower secondary and upper school system is based on examination regulations; a promotion from *Realschule* to *Gymnasium* after having finished 10th grade depends on "exceptional" results achieved; the transition from the comprehensive school to upper secondary and higher education is according to individual performance.
- Mecklenburg-Vorpommern: unrestricted changes within the *Orientierungsstufe* (grades 5 and 6); transition from *Realschule* to 11th grade of *Gymnasium* depends on having successfully finished *Realschule*. It is not yet clear if and how a transition from *Hauptschule* to upper secondary education will be possible.
- Saxony: unrestricted changes within the *Orientierungsstufe* (grades 5 and 6); transition from *Mittelschule* to 10th grade of *Gymnasium* depends on good results.
- Saxony-Anhalt: Changes of school tracks within the *Orientierungsstufe* (grades 5 and 6) are possible. From grade 7 to grade 10, a transfer to Gymnasium is not possible. Enrolling

11th grade of *Gymnasium* after having graduated from *Sekundarschule* depends on "exceptional" results.

Thuringia: Transition from *Regelschule* to *Gymnasium* is possible after having finished grades 5, 6, and 10, when having passed the final exam. In that case, the upper secondary program will take three years.

Private Schools: Founding private or independent schools is guaranteed in all new Länder. Currently, their number is still small, and some of them have only few grades since they could not be opened before 1990. Many reform projects, initiated idealisticlally immediately after the *Wende*, had already to give up since--different to western Germany--adequate public and private funds are not yet available. Mainly some Waldorf and denominational schools, supported by their western counterparts, exist.

"Special Education": Different types of schools for the handicapped are currently being developed, based on previous GDR schools.

Renewal of Curricula: Besides the structural reforms, a thorough renewal of the curricula is the prime goal of education reforms. Since the Länder administrations were established in 1990/91, all curricula were checked and revised, a process still unfinished.
The same procedure is about the revision of textbooks and teaching materials. In 1991 and 1992, the Länder established state centers for curriculum development and in-service training, also in charge of the current process of didactical, methodological, and political "reorientation" of the teachers. The "reorientation" or "reeducation" projects focus on the following topics: new schools including the restructuring of the education system; how to work with "skeleton" instead of compulsory curricula; introduction into new methods of teaching; and how to deal with the new pedagogical freedom.

Vocational Education: Vocational education was already transformed by the last GDR government when overtaking the western German Vocational Education Law. Nearly all GDR institutions were closed and the extraordinarily differentiated West German typology of vocational schools was transplanted into the new Länder including part-time and full-time vocational schools with up to four-year programs; full-time vocational schools *(Berufsfachschulen)* with one to three-year programs, available after graduating from *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*; upper secondary general and technical schools *(Fachoberschulen)*, available after 10th grade, which give access to higher professional education colleges or universities; specialized technical colleges (Fachschulen), offering one or two-year full-time technical programs at basic and advanced level; high schools, specialized on technology or economics which qualify for higher education (*Fach-* or *berufliche Gymnasien*). Contrary to the general senior high school, the *Fachgymnasium* program takes three years. Additionally, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia established schools for supplementary general vocational education (*Berufsaufbauschulen*) where students get a complete vocational program, and acquire the *Realschule* diploma.

The international competitiveness of the compulsory German "dual system" of part-time vocational schooling and inner-company vocational training depends on both, a network of vocational schools which offer the broad scale of required programs as well as on a broad range of different companies and public institutions which offer apprenticeships.

Apart from the structural reforms and measures to raise the level of facilities, teaching and learning materials, serious problems for the eastern German vocational education system resulted from the economic reconstruction of the former GDR which continued to affect particularly the "dual system" of vocational education. The closing of enterprises and combinates reduced the educational training capacities seriously. Contrary to the increasing demand of apprentices and skilled workers in the west, the 16-18 year olds in the east cannot find apprenticeships. Besides that, the vocational and professional structure of the new Länder is changing. New jobs will emerge in trade and in the service sector, while many jobs will be permanently lost in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors. This makes vocational educational planning difficult during the period of transition and has to be taken into account, e.g., to answer the question how many vocational school teachers with which qualifications will be needed. Comparably difficult is to successfully use the existing means and measures to promote in-service training and retraining to reintegrate jobless people into the market.

Teachers: A problem with serious repercussions is to adapt number and qualification of teachers to the new structures. The reconstruction of the GDR education system lead to a massive decrease of teacher positions in all new Länder, partly caused by budget problems, partly a consequence of the lower teacher-student ratio. Teachers who had worked for the Ministry of State Security (*"Stasi"*), were dismissed like most former *Staatsbürgerkunde* teachers without a second teaching subject, former FDJ-cadres, and most higher ranking education administrators. During the term of Hans Modrow, many people from positions in public administration, ministeries, National People's Army, Police, and even from the Stasi got jobs as teachers without formal teaching qualifications (*"Modrow-Lehrer"*) who are mostly dismissed now also.

Nevertheless, about an estimated 20,000 teachers without political or criminal misdemanor were also dismissed since the current demand is particularly lower than the existing supply. There is, e.g., a massive surplus of Russian teachers and a lack of English and other foreign language teachers. According to the Unity Treaty, dismissals due to political disqualification and lack of demand are only allowed until Oct. 1st, 1992. Accurate statistics are not available before 1993, but the reduction of teaching positions is between 2,200 teachers in Thuringia and 10,000 in Saxony. In average, about 20 % of the previous positions were deleted from the faculties (FAZ May 6th, 1992; Schmidt 1991, p. 15). The only exception is Brandenburg, where the Minister of Education, Marianne Birthler, tries to keep as many jobs as possible by reducing the teaching loads and salaries by 20 %. This measure is legally not uncontestable but appears to be more favorable for most teachers than to become unemployed. If and how long the policy can be put through is questionable with respect to, e.g., math, science, and technical teachers.

Similiar to vocational education, the changing demand is a long-term problem, resulting from the general and vocational school restructuring. The eastern German schools need many more higher

secondary teachers than before, when access to upper secondary and higher education was strictly limited. Teaching capacity is needed for many subjects not existing in socialism. Finally, the number of students striving for university entrance qualifications will increase rapidly, equalizing with western Germany. Further education and in-service-training of teachers and retraining of would-be teachers will be necessary to at least reduce the deficit.

**Higher Education**

The renewal of the higher education system in eastern Germany seems to turn out to be yet more difficult than within the school system. Controversies are about the question whether the current West German system is a reasonable model for the reconstruction of the GDR system. Almost three years after the breakdown of the SED-state, manifold problems about funds, structures, programs, academic personnel, and equipping, have not yet been solved.

The basis for reforming the eastern German universities is the "Renewal Program on Higher Education and Research in the New Länder", passed by the Federation and the Laender in July 1991. To realize this program, about 1.7 billion DM are supplied for the period of 1991 to 1996 (BMBW Presseinfo no. 45/1991). The implementation of the renewal program follows the recommendations of the National Science Council.

The renewal addresses the following problem areas:

Structural Reorganization: The 54 universities, colleges, and schools of university status of the GDR were directly as well as and centrally subordinate to the Ministry of Higher and Technical Education, and several other ministries (e.g., the Teachers' Colleges were assigned to the Ministry of Education). The first important and uncontroversial step of structural renewal was to put the universities and colleges under the legislation and jurisdiction of the Länder.

The structural change of the instititutions started in summer 1991. Most Teachers Colleges and social science departments of the universities were closed; some universities were combined, e.g., in Rostock and Warnemünde, in Dresden, or in Halle and Leuna; others got a new status. New universities were founded in the Land Brandenburg (Potsdam, Frankfurt/Oder, Cottbus). Higher technical colleges which did not exist in the GDR, were and will be established. In the winter semester of 1992/93, 3 private and the first 21 public *Fachhochschulen*, will offer over 100 different programs (see Bildung-Wissenschaft-Aktuell, no. 7/1991; no. 2/1992).

Probably the most serious structural change was separating the academies (Academy of Sciences, Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, Academy of Agriculture, Building Academy) from their respective research institutes, as required by the Unity Treaty (Article 38). Already in Summer 1990, many research institutes, often affiliated to enterprises and combinates, were closed. Up to now, only a small part of the research personnel was able to continue their work, be it through the Scholar Integration Program, changing to a university position or the transfer of the research institutes into the group of those Federation-Länder which funded so-called "Blue-List" Institutes.

In 1991/92, all academic positions in science and higher education were submitted to a double, political and academic, evaluation. Based on the recommendations of the National Science Council, certain institutes, departments, and schools of the universities were closed and the faculty members were dismissed. This did not only happen with the former sections and several schools of Marxism-Leninism, but most schools of law, economics, education, and journalism, and liberal arts and sciences. At the same time, new schools and departments esp. of Law and business administration were founded.

Renewal of the Personnel: The process of adapting the law of higher education of the Länder to the Federal Higher Education Framework Act is difficult and not undisputed, particularly when it came to the instructors.

This process, to be finished until Oct. 3, 1992, is characterized by the following features:

- The overall teaching and research personnell will be reduced between 33 and 60 % to adapt to West German comparative figures (see: Informationan-Bildung-Wissenschaft, no. 2/1992, pp. 14-15).
- Everybody`s individual, esp. political behavior will be screened ("political evaluation"). The academic personell must be examined, particularly necessary for successful reappointment.
- Open positions must be published; those dismissed may reapply if positively screened.

These, partly long procedures have not yet been finished by the Länder. They are carried through by different commissions: "Honor Commissions", "Transition Commissions", "Special Commissions", "Staff Commissions", "Appointment Commissions", and others. Many of the open positions, particularly in the humanities, were or will be filled by western German applicants (Webler 1992, pp. 52-57).

The partly whole-sale exchange of personnell caused agitation and uncertainty, resignation and indignation among many eastern German academics. The development of new young eastern German scientists is at least partly put at risk. This is why particular funds were made available by the Renewal Program to support the new generation of academics. Since many German professors will retire between 1995 and 2005, it is particularly important to foster the development of young academics also in eastern Germany. Some new measures and programs, e.g., of the German Science Foundation (DFG) and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) are already established to adress the problem.

To support the process of renewal, the eastern German universities received 520 million DM from the Renewal Program (Informationen-Bildung-Wissenschaft, no. 2/1992, pp. 14-16).

The continuous budgetary problems in eastern Germany prove to be the major problem on the route to making the education systems efficient and internationally competitive.

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